CIA/OCI/BRIEF 137-75 3 SEPTEMBER 1975

For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00698R00030001039⁵7 SECRET / NFD 1 OF 1

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 337-75.4

PRESIDENT NORALES BERMUDEZ SUGGEST AN EFFORT TO CONSOLIDATE HIS POSITION. A COMMITMENT TO CONTINUE MANY OF FORMER PRESIDENT VELASCO'S DOMESTIC POLICIES. A DESIRE TO MAINTAIN A MORE STABLE AND BUSINESS-LIKE POSTURE: AND A SENSITIVITY TO CONTINUED LACK OF CIVILIAN SUPPORT AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF MILITARY RULE.4

FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE MILITARY TOOK POWER IN OCTOBER 3948. A CIVILIAN HAS BEEN NAMED TO A CABINET POST. THE APPOINTMENT OF ECONOMIST LUIS BARUA AS MINISTER OF ECONOMY AND PINANCE IS CERTAIN TO RAISE HOPES THAT OTHER LIBERALIZATION MEASURES ARE IN THE OFFING. ADDITIONAL CABINET CHANGES ARE LIKELY.Y

SOME OF FORMER PRESIDENT VELASCOSS MINISTERS REMAIM IN HIGH GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY POSITIONS—AN INDICATION THAT SOME OF PERU'S MORE RADICAL OFFICERS WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE A VOICE IN SETTING POLICIES. WE EXPECT. HOWEVER, THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THESE OFFICERS WILL BE SOMEWHAT DIMINISHED. ONE OF VELASCO'S MOST VOCAL AND AMTICUS ASSOCIATES. GENERAL FERNANDEZ MALDONADO, HAS BEEN REMOVED AS

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MINISTER OF ENERGY AND MINES AND NAMED TO THE LESS INFLUENTIAL POSITION OF ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF.4

IN MAKING THIS SHIFT. MORALES BERMUDEN HAS BOTH RESPECTING MILITARY SENIORITY AND TRYING TO HORE ABOVE FROM THE EXTREMISM OF VELASCO'S POLICIES. THE PRESIDENT HAS REPLACED FERNANDEN MALDOMADO AT THE HIHISTRY WITH GENERAL LA VERA MALARDE, WHO DECLARED HIMSELF AGAINST VELASCO EARLY IN THE COUP PROCESS.

A NUMBER OF OTHER BACKERS OF THE NEW PRESIDENT HAVE BEEN PLACED IN IMPORTANT GOVERNMENTSPOSTS. REPORTS FROM LIMA SUGGEST THAT SOME OFFICERS KNOWN TO HAVE A TASTE FOR POLITICAL INTRIGUES HAVE BEEN RETIRED OR RELIEVED OF THEIR JOBS. THESE INCLUDE BOTH RADICAL OFFICERS AND THOSE FAVORING LESS REPRESSIVE POLICIES.Y

THE FATE OF THE RADICAL GENERAL GRAHAM HURTADO, UNTIL RECENTLY A STRONG ALLY OF VELASCO, REMAINS UNCERTAIN. IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT HE WILL RETAIN HIS POSITION AS HEAD OF THE PRESTIGIOUS PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

ANOTHER GENERAL WHO HAD BEEN A STRONG VELASCO SUPPORTER, GENERAL RODRIGUEZ FIGUEROA, HAS SUFFERED A DEBOTION. FORMERLY LIMA'S

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MILITARY REGION COMMANDER, HE HAS BEEN NAMED HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT INFORMATION OFFICE. ECONFIDENTIALLY

RESTORE CALM TO GUITO FOLLOWING THE COUP ATTEMPT ON SEPTEMBER L. BUT HE MAY FIND DEALING WITH THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF DISCONTENT A MORE DIFFICULT MATTER. Y

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. WHICH HAVE STIRRED WIDE CRITICISM OF RODRIGUEZ' POLICIES AND WERE A MAJOR CAUSE OF THE MOVE AGAINST HIM.

REMAIN. HOW HE CHOOSES TO COPE WITH DEMANDS FOR CHANGE WILL DETERMINE WHETHER UNREST WILL CORTINUE.

THE ATTEMPTED COUP COULD SET BACK, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY, RECENT HOVES BY THE RODRIGUEZ GOVERNMENT TO SHIFT ITS POLICY ORIENTATION AWAY FROM THE LEFT AND TOWARD THE CENTER. CONSERVATIVE OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT ARE LIKELY TO FEEL A TASTE OF UNATEVER RETRIBUTION IS METED OUT BY RODRIGUEZ AS A WARNING TO FUTURE PLOTTERS.4

THE PRESIDENT MAY USE HIS EASY VICTORY OVER THE REBELS TO
STRENGTHEN HIS CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY. HE HES ALREADY ACCUSED
"IRRESPONSIBLE POLITICIANS" OF INSTIGATING THE REBELLION, POSSIBLY

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SIGNALING A CRACKDOWN ON CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL AND BUSINESS GROUPS
THAT MAY HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITHTREE MILITARY OFFICERS INVOLVED IN
THE COURS TRY-V

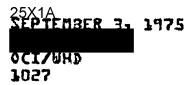
RUDRIGUEZ WILL PROBABLY USE THE OPPORTUNITY TO STIFLE CRITICISM OF HIS GOVERNMENT BY THE MEDIA. Y

LEADING CIVILIAN CRITICS OF THE REGIME, ANTICIPATING GOVERNMENT REPRESSION, ALREADY HAVE GOUE INTO HIDING. PRESS REPORTS INDICATE THAT GOVERNMENT FORCES HAVE RAIDED THE HOMES OF SOME POLITICAL AND BUSINESS LEADERS, AND A DUSK-TO-DAWN CURFEU IS IN EFFECT IN QUITO AND GUAYAQUIL.4

SO KAR. 80 SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS HAVE BEEN PLACED UNDER ARREST.

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 137-75.4

PORTUGAL: PORTUGUESE OFFICERS OPPOSED TO PRO-COMMUNIST
FORMER PRIME MINISTER VASCO GONCALVES ARE STEPPING UP EFFORTS TO
REMOVE HIM AS ARMED FORCES CHIEF OF STAFF WITHOUT RESTORING TO
VIOLENCE. THEIR EFFORTS, PLUS PARALLEL MOVES BY THE POLITICAL
PARTIES, HAVE LED TO A POSTPONEMENT OF THE SWEARING IN OF A NEW
GOVERNMENT UNDER PRIME MINISTER AZEVEDO.Y

ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF FABIAO AND HIS AIR FORCE COUNTERPART,

GENERAL MORAIS DA SILVA, HAVE PUBLICLY DENOUNCED GONCALVES. EACH

HAS CALLED ON THE SEPARATE ASSEMBLY OF HIS SERVICE TO PURGE

GONCALVES' SUPPORTERS PEFORE A SCHEDULED MEETING ON FRIDAY OF THE

ARMED FORCES GENERAL ASSEMBLY.Y

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH IS MADE UP OF 240 OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN AND HAS GENERALLY FOLLOWED A PRO-GONCALVES LINE, HAS BEEN CALLED INTO SESSION BY PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES TO REVAMP THE ONCE-POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL. THE ARMY HOLDS JET SEATS IN THE ASSEMBLY AND THE AIR FORCE LO. THE REMAINING SEATS ARE CONTROLLED BY THE NAVY, WHICH EARLIER ENDORSED GONCALVES' BID TO

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REMAIN PRIME MINISTER. 4

IT HAS BEEN WIDELY ASSUMED THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL

BE USED TO PURGE THE LEADERS OF THE ANTI-GONCALVES FACTION. IF THE

ARMY AND ATT FORCE SUCCEED IN PACKING THEIR DELEGATIONS, HOWEVER,

THEY COULD TURN THE ASSEMBLY INTO AN EFFECTIVE WEAPON AGAINST

GONCALVES-Y

GONCALVES AND HIS COMMUNIST SUPPORTERS ARE CLEARLY WORRIED

ABOUT THE TWO-PRONGED STRATEGY OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST ANTUNES GROUP.

THIS STRATEGY IS DESIGNED TO SHOW THAT GONCALVES CANNOT CONTROL THE ARMED FORCES AND TO USE THE ASSEMBLY AGAINST HIM.Y

AIR FORCE CHIEF MORAIS DA SILVA WAS SUMMONED TO THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE TO EXPLAIN HIS REFUSAL TO SUPPORT GONCALVES IN HIS
NEW POST. HIS REFUSAL WAS ALSO CRITICIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED AND COMMUNIST-INFLUENCED NATIONAL RADIO IN WHAT MAY BE
THE OPENING VOLLEY OF A COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE.Y

MORAIS DA SILVA DAS JOINED IN HIS CENSURE OF GONCALVES ON TUESDAY BY FABIAO, WHO CALLED GONCALVES A DIVISIVE INFLUENCE ON THE ARMY. FABIAO, WHO HAS REMAINED SILENT ON THE QUESTION OF DATE: ORIG: UNIT: EXT:

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OUTGOING MESSAGE SILE LAL

GONCALVES SINCE HE BACKED DOWN LAST BEEK FROM HIS EFFORT TO

REPLACE THE LATTER AS PRIME MINISTER, APPEARS TO MAVE RE-ENTERED

THE FRAY-SOMEWHAT MORE DETERMINED THIS TIME.Y

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES HAVE FORCED THE FORMATION OF THE MEM CABINET TO TAKE A BACK SEAT TO THE GONCALVES ISSUE. IN SPITE OF A HINT BY NEULY APPOINTED PRIME MINISTER AZEVEDO ON TELEVISION MONDAY THAT HE IS PLANNING A GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD RESURRECT THE FORMER MULTI-PARTY COALITION. THE SOCIALISTS AND POPULAR DEMOCRATS ARE STILL REFUSING TO COOPERATE AS LONG AS GONCALVES REMAINS. ESECRETAR

2. USSR-VIETNAM: LAST USEK MOSCOW SENT A DELEGATION TO HANOI
FOR THE BOTH ANNIVERSARY OF MORTH VIETNAMESE INDEPENDENCE
AND THE OPENING OF HO CHI MINH'S MAUSOLEUM. THE MOST
SIGNIFICANT ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE DELEGATION THUS FAR
IS ITS MEETING, ANNOUNCED ON TUESDAY, WITH CAMBODIAN
LEADER KHIEU SAMPHAM, UHO IS ALSO IN HANOI FOR THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS. THE SOVIETS MAVE SEE. TRYING TO THOROUS THEIR RELATIONS
WITH STHANOUK AND CAMBODIAN COMMUNIST LEADERS EVER
SINCE THE SPRING, BUT UNTIL NOW THERE HAS BEEN HO GOOD

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INDICATION THAT THEIR EFFORTS WERE BEARING FRUIT.

TASS REPORTED THAT THE TALKS COVERED PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND THAT THEY WERE HELD IN A "FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE."

THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO HANOI IS HEADED BY

ALTERNATE POLITBURO MEMBER SOLOMENTSEV.//MOSCOW'S

DECISION TO SEND THE RELATIVELY LOW-RANKING SOLOMENTSEV

TO HAMOI MAY REFLECT A DESIRE TO AVOID OFFENDING US

SENSITIVITIES PRIOR TO THE SOVIET-US SUMMIT.//CHINA

DID MOT SEND A DELEGATION TO THE CEREMONIES SURROUND
ING THE OPENING OF THE SOVIET-BUILT MAUSOLEUM, BUT

ITS DELEGATION TO THE BOTH ANNIVERSARY FESTIVITIES

WAS LED BY VICE PREMIER AND FULL POLITBURO MEMBER

CHEN HSI-LIEM.Y

SOLOMENTSEY'S DELEGATION INCLUDES PARTY SECRETARY KATUSHEV, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR RELATIONS WITH RULING COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WHO LAID THE GROUNDWORK FOR PRESIDENT PODGORNY'S VISIT TO MORTH VIETNAM IN DATE: ORIG: UNIT:

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JUNE 1972. HIS INCLUSION IN THE DELEGATION MAY MEAN THAT BREZHNEV, KOSYGIN, OR PODGORNY IS PLANNING A TRIP TO HANDI SOMETIME IN 1975. IN MOSCOW'S VIEW-SUCH A TRIP PROBABLY DOULD SERVE TO STRENGTHEN THE USSR'S CURRENT EDGE IN HANOI VIS A VIS THE CHINESE. P

THE WEEK BEFORE ZOLOMENTSEV WENT TO HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM'S CHIEF AID NEGOTIATOR WAS IN MOSCOW, WHERE HE HAD APPARENTLY CORDIAL CONVERSATIONS WITH PREMIER KOSYGIN AND SOVIET AID OFFICIALS. MGHI'S VISIT WAS BILLED AS COVERING HANGI'S AID NEEDS OVER THE COURSE OF ITS MEXT FIVE-YEAR PLAN. IT MAY WELL BE THAT WHEN AN AGREEMENT IS FINALLY ANNOUNCED, IT WILL COVER MORE THAN HANOI'S AID REQUIREMENTS FOR 1976. SOVIET PROP-AGANDA HANDLING OF THE VISIT, UNLIKE PEKING'S, WAS WARM AND VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL TO ITS HANDLING OF HIGHT'S VISIT THIS TIME LAST YEAR. LAST YEAR NO AID AGREE-MENTS UERE SIGNED UNTIL DECEMBER, AND NGHT RETURNED TO MOSCOU FOR THE SIGNING. ECONFIDENTIALLY

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3. USSR: MOSCOW'S UNOFFICIAL ARTISTS, INTENT ON MARKING
THE ANNIVERSARY ON SEPTEMBER 15 OF LAST YEAR'S "ART
MASSACRE," MAY AGAIN GENERATE A CONFLICT THAT COULD
GIVE THE REGIME MASSIVE, UNFAVORABLE PUBLICITY IN
THE UEST. IN SUCH AN EVENT, SOVIET OFFICIALS MAY
FIND IT EMBARRASSING TO ASSERT THAT THEIR DOMESTIC
ACTIONS ARE NOT CIRCUMSCRIBED BY THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.4

THE ARTISTS, WHO HAD BEEN PLANNING FOR AN EXHIBIT SINCE EARLY THIS SPRING, HAD LAIN LOW DURING THE SUMMER BECAUSE OF OFFICIAL HARASSMENT. LAST WEEK THEY RECEIVED A PFLAT REFUSAL? OF EXHIBIT SPACE FROM THE CULTURE MINISTRY. THE REASONS GIVEN WERE SHORTAGE OF SUITABLE HALLS AND THE PROSPECT THAT EXHIBITORS WOULD INCLUDE ARTISTS FROM CITIES OTHER THAN MOSOCW.Y

DURING EARLIER DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ARTISTS:
MINISTRY OFFICIALS SEEMED EASER TO AVOID AN OPEN

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DESCRIPTION OF PER

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AIR SHOW, BEARING IN MIND THE TARRING OF THE SOVIET

IMAGE BY THE WORLD PRESS LAST YEAR AND THE UNWELCOME,

FAVORABLE PUBLICITY FOR SOVIET DISSIDENT ART RE
SULTING FROM AN OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED OPEN-AIR SHOW

TWO WEEKS LATER. 4

BOTH THE REGIME AND THE ARTISTS NOW FACE A
DILEMMA. THE ARTISTS MUST DECIDE WHETHER TO STAGE
AN UNAUTHORIZED SHOW AND SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES,
OR PULL BACK--AN OPTION THAT THE REGIME'S TOUGH
POSTURE IS DESIGNED TO HELP THEM CHOOSE. AT THE
MOMENT THE ARTISTS APPEAR UNDECIDED, BUT MOST BELIEVE THAT FOREIGN PUBLICITY IS THEIR ONLY HOPE--A
VIEW THAT ARGUES IN FAVOR OF SOME GESTURE REGARDLESS OF THE CONSEQUENCES. THE REGIME, ON THE OTHER
HAND, EVIDENTLY IS SEEKING A SOLUTION THAT PROMISES
TO MINIMIZE PUBLICITY, AND FOR NOW SEEMS TO BELIEVE
THAT FORESTALLING A SHOW WILL ACHIEVE THIS AIM BETTER

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THE SITUATION FACING THE ARTISTS MIRRORS IN MANY WAYS THAT OF THE DISSIDENTS, JEWS, AND OTHERS REGARDED BY THE REGIME AS THE DANGEROUS OR EMBARRASING FLOTSAM OF ZOVIET SOCIETY. SOME HAVE SPENT A QUIET, OTHERS AN ACTIVE, SUMMER. MANY INITIALLY LOOKED AT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE HELSINKI SUMMIT OPTIMISTICALLY, EVEN UHILE SOVIET PROPAGANDISTS DID THEIR UTMOST TO DISABUSE THEM OF THEIR HOPES. Y

MEANUHILE, THE REGIME'S CONTINUING INERTIA IN BASIC CULTURAL POLICY HAD PRODUCED A FAMILIAR. CHECKERED PATTERN OF RELUCTANT CONCESSIONS TO THOSE FEW WHOSE CAUSE IS TAKEN UP BY THE WEST, WHILE THE MANY UITHOUT A VOICE ARE SUBJECTED TO AN INTENSIFIED CAMPAIGN AGAINST UNORTHODOXY. P

AS THE NEW DETERMINATION OF MOSCOW'S UNCONVEN-TIONAL ARTISTS SUGGESTS, THE FALL MAY SEE SOME RESUMPTION OF DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES AND, ULTIMATELY, A TESTING OF THE REGIME'S COMMITMENT TO HELSINKI'S

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 □ 191955 HUMAN RIGHTS AND CULTURAL CONTACTS PROVISIONS. ZIICH TESTS HOLD THE POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT, PARTICULARLY ZINCE THE SKEPTICS AMONG SOVIET DISSIDENTS FEEL THIS COMMITMENT TO BE SHALLOW OR MON-EXISTENT, AND THE HELSINKI PROVISIONS TO BE ENFORCEABLE--IF AT ALL--ONLY BY TURNING THE SPOTLIGHT OF MESTERN PUBLICITY AND OFFICIAL PRESSURE ON THE SOVIET DOMESTIC SCENE. (CONFIDENTIAL)+

4. YUGOZLAVIA: THE HEADS OF YUGOSLAV SECURITY AGENCIES HAVE RECEIVED NEW ORDERS DIRECT FROM TITO, AND A MAJOR "VIGILANCE" CAMPAIGN MAY BE IN THE OFFING. P

ACCORDING TO A BRIEF TANJUG ANNOUNCEMENT, MAJOR GENERAL FRANCO HERLDEVIC, MINISTER OF IN-TERIOR: HIS COUNTERPARTS FROM ALL THE REPUBLICS -BZ YRATILIM BHT TO CABH BHT GMA -ZBOMIVORG GMA CURITY SERVICE HEARD FIFD PRAISE THEIR PAST ACCOM-PLISHMENTS AND ASSIGN UNDPECIFIED PRIORITY TASKS . AT A MEETING ON ZUNDAY. P

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEETING IS ACCENTUATED

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BER GENERAL PER

D to rough BY TITO'S DECISION TO HOLD IT ON HIS FIRST DAY IN BELGRADE AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF VACATION. OVER - STANE DOLANC - NUMBER TWO IN THE PARTY - VLADI-MIR BAKARIC TITO'S DEPUTY IN THE COLLECTIVE STATE EXECUTIVE, AND PREMIER DZEMAL BIJEDIC WERE IN ATTENDANCE. Y

THERE IS ANY NUMBER OF TOPICS TITO MIGHT WANT TREATED WITH MORE VIGOR BY THE SECURITY NETWORK. FOR EXAMPLE, THE PROCESS OF ROOTING OUT "COMIN-FORMISTS" AND OTHER PRO-SOVIETS APPEARS TO BE BUILDING MOMENTUM. AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT COUPS IN PERU AND BANGLADESH, TITO MAY ALSO BE HAVING A TUOEA YTBIXNA TO 2MZAGZ DIGOTAGY ABOUT A MASSIVE PLOT TO "GET" NONALIGNED LEADERS. 4

WHATEVER THE NEW "TASKS" MAY BE, IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT THE INTERNAL SECURITY OFFICIALS ALSO HEARD SOME ADMONITIONS ON THEIR PROPER-I.E. SUB-SERVIENT--RELATIONSHIP TO THE PARTY. IN MID-JULY, VICE PRESIDENT BAKARIC MARNED A PARTY PLENUM THAT

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Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010039-7

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